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Thesis

JEWISH ROOTS OF THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS.

Submitted by

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1931

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JEWISH ROOTS OF THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS.

Chapter 1

Introduction

IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY.

(a) Opens out new possibilities in the use of the Sacraments.

The question of origins is always an important one. Especially is this so in the realm of religious rites and literature. Not so many decades have passed since the majority of Protestants were rather under the impression that the Scriptures were of Divine origin in the sense that the Divine Spirit guided the hands of the authors of our canonical Books in such a way that they could make no mistake. Such a theory gave those who held it great faith in the Bible as a more or less infallible guide to religious living. Modern critical study has revealed a very different origin proving that inspiration is not a mechanical process but that God reveals Himself in the Scriptures through the personalities of the men who have written our canonical Scriptures, that these personalities have often touched the writings with their own prejudices and passions and misconceptions, so that he who would sift the wheat from the chaff must do so carefully and prayerfully. To some the discovery that the Scriptures are of what seems to them a human origin has meant a terrific upheaval. The very foundation has seemed to have been taken

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

1776

1776

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of the struggle for freedom and independence.

1776

The first step was to declare independence from Great Britain.

The second step was to fight the Revolutionary War.

The third step was to write the Constitution.

The fourth step was to build a strong and free nation.

The fifth step was to expand westward.

The sixth step was to fight the Civil War.

The seventh step was to rebuild the nation.

The eighth step was to become a world power.

The ninth step was to fight World War I.

The tenth step was to fight World War II.

The eleventh step was to become a superpower.

The twelfth step was to fight the Cold War.

The thirteenth step was to become a global leader.

The fourteenth step was to fight the Vietnam War.

The fifteenth step was to become a world leader.

The sixteenth step was to fight the Gulf War.

The seventeenth step was to become a world leader.

The eighteenth step was to fight the Iraq War.

The nineteenth step was to become a world leader.

from under the religious structure that they have reared, and there is no doubt that the shock has sent many into the chaotic states of atheism and agnosticism. Those who have been willing to search with open minds and prayerful hearts, however, and have come safely through the tempest of mental conflict and doubt, have found a faith that is vastly superior to the old, for it is founded on the "Rock" and not on any external authority. The Scriptures become a guide in a new sense. There is a freedom never before realized, a freedom fraught with dangers, also with tremendous possibilities. Revelation has not been made once for all. It is going on today. There are modern prophets. God may even make another great revelation of Himself similar to that made in Jesus who showed us what God is like. Who knows but that Scriptures are being written today? The changed view regarding the origin of the Scriptures and religion in general has opened up possibilities in the religious world that are simply tremendous in their scope. Is it not possible that a study of the origins of the Sacraments may open up to us newer and greater possibilities in their use that will bring them before us in a nobler light? If this study accomplishes this purpose it will not have been in vain.

(b) Corrects False Views

Besides opening out new possibilities in the use of the Sacraments, a study of their origins made calmly and critically is bound to correct many false notions that have arisen from time to time concerning the Sacraments. The doctrine of Transubstantiation formally accepted as a dogma of the Roman Catholic Church by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 has tended to give a magical interpretation to the Eucharist, and I suppose that the average uneducated Catholic today rather tends to interpret the Eucharist in this way. Such a view is not altogether absent from Protestantism. Protestants are not apt to regard the elements as the body and blood of Christ but there is a tendency on the part of some to view the Lord's Supper as helpful in itself i.e. as having a certain objective power apart from the deep and vital relation with Jesus and fellow men that is symbolized. Thus the tendency, while not to treat it lightly, is to miss its real significance and helpfulness. Now to regard any of the Sacraments in any magical sense is bound to be degrading for superstition is always degrading in that it is founded on fear. A few years ago I was in the Canadian northwest on a student missionary charge and was asked by a Scotch lady that some of her children be baptized on the ground that

"they had never been done." Upon closer examination I found that she was rather under the impression that they might be lost if they died unbaptized. Such a viewpoint has pretty generally been out-grown, yet many parents every year bring their children as a matter of course, because "they have never been done," and receive no real benefit from the Sacrament because its meaning is not impressed upon them. A thorough study of origins on the part of one who is to guide the minds of people on these lines is absolutely necessary if he would set the people free from the fears which accompany any superstitions with regard to the Sacraments. The greatest benefit comes from the Sacraments when those who participate, do so humbly and prayerfully, having caught the true significance of the rite. In other words participation of the highest sort must be intelligent.

SCOPE OF STUDY.

(a) Meaning of Sacrament.

Our word Sacrament is from the Latin word "sacramentum". In classical Latin the word means "an oath." (1) In the Vulgate it is used as a translation of the Greek *μυστήριον*

1. Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,³ N. Y. 1891 on Sacrament (P. Schaff), Vol.1V p. 2093

(See Eph.1:9; 3:3,9; 5:32; 1 Tim. 3:16; Rev. 1:20)

Μυστήριον in the New Testament, however is not applied to Baptism or to the Lord's Supper. It is with Tertullian (c. 150-220 or 230) that we have the term ^{"sacramentum"} first applied either to Baptism or the Lord's Supper. Lambert says: "Tertullian's use of the term was evidently suggested, not by its classical meanings, whether legal or military, but by the fact that in the old Latin versions "sacramentum" had been used as the equivalent of *μυστήριον* , a word which frequently meets us in the Greek New Testament." (2) This is significant, as it is the application of a term to Baptism and the Lord's Supper which neither the New Testament nor the earliest writers applied to those rites. It seems quite evident that the Christians by the time of Tertullian evidently saw in these rites an analogy to the initiatory and other rites of the Greek mysteries, whose rites were also spoken of as *μυστήρια*, and this suggests that the Lord's Supper and Baptism were probably profoundly influenced by the Greek Mysteries. In the words of A. W. Cooke "Jewish were baptism and the Lord's Supper, possibly in their inception, but when they appear in the New Testament ,after a lapse of some forty years, at the least, and when we find

them in subsequent Christian literature they are no longer wholly Jewish, but have taken on the spirit of the Mysteries."

(3) It is worthy of note that the term Mystery is still used in the Eastern Church. Webster's New International Dictionary (1930 edition C. & C. Merriman Co. Springfield, Mass.) defines "Sacrament" as "An outward and visible sign of an invisible or inward and spiritual grace." It then goes on to give the three chief opinions as to the Sacraments which are as follows: (op. cit. p. 1865) a. "That they are channels by which divine grace is conferred and are inherently efficacious. This is the view of the Roman Catholics, of the members of the Eastern Church, and of many in the Anglican Communion. b. That they are seals or ratifications of a covenant between God and the individual soul. This is the view generally held by Protestants. c. That they are signs or badges of a Christian profession or that they are simply visible signs or symbols of something invisible and spiritual, and destitute of value and significance if the invisible or spiritual reality is wanting."

The View of Sacraments as Inherently Efficacious.

A tendency in the direction of the first of these views is seen in Quick's definition of sacrament. He says

3. A. W. Cooke- Sacraments and Society, Boston,
1924 p. 172.

"A sacrament is a ritual act, using certain form and matter, which both represents some universal relation of human life to God through Christ, and also, in thus representing all life, makes life worthy to be thus represented." (4) I cannot see how we can make the Sacraments in any way inherently beneficial, and escape the danger of a magical interpretation. To attribute to any rite or ceremony an inherent efficacy is the first step in a process which will end in making such ceremonies ends-in-themselves instead of means to an end. Such a process invariably ends in such extravagances as we find in Cyprian who tells of four instances of the Sacrament elements being taken by unworthy people. One little girl who had eaten food offered to idols found she could not consume the elements. A woman who partook unworthily "received not food but a sword" (5) Another woman, in opening the box containing the element with hands that were unclean, was confronted by a burst of flame while a man had the elements become cinders in his hand. Cyprian is but one example of hundreds who have held similar views, views which have tended often to the degradation rather than the elevation of the Sacraments in the minds of Christian people and have led some groups, such as the

4. O. C. Quick- The Christian Sacraments, London, Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1927 p.108.

5. S. Angus- The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, N.Y. 1929, pp 126-7

Quakers and the Salvation Army to abandon them altogether.

Furthermore I do not feel that there is adequate Scriptural basis to prove that either Jesus or the apostles looked upon the Sacraments as in any way inherently efficacious although I will admit that we do find a trace of this idea in Paul (6) where he attributes sickness and death to the abuse of the Lord's Supper, and a more pronounced emphasis in the Fourth Gospel (See esp. Jno. 3). In general however I think we may say that the "Do this in remembrance of me" passage of Luke 22:19, (7) is more representative of the attitude of the primitive church to the observance of the Lord's Supper and I cannot but feel that at the start Baptism had a certain similar meaning in the sense that it was not considered an end in itself. However that is rather outside the scope of our subject although it does have a bearing upon it.

The View of Sacraments as the Seal of a Covenant.

There is exceedingly good scriptural authority for regarding the institution of the Lord's Supper as the seal of a covenant with God. The covenant idea in connection with the cup is mentioned in all four accounts of the Lord's Supper (8) and by analogy we might apply the idea to Baptism.

6. 1 Cor. 11:28-34

7. Cf. 1 Cor. 11: 23-4

8. Matt. 26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25

However we must remember that the covenant idea is old coming to the Hebrews through the Semitic Peoples generally. (9) There is contained in the idea of a covenant a little too much of the bargain element it seems to me for us to conceive of our relation to God as a covenant relation. Of course there is a sense in which our relationship to God is dependent on our attitude but on our attitude alone, for God's attitude does not change. The Prodigal Son (10) was free to return at any time he chose. His Father's attitude had not changed. It was his own attitude that kept him away from his Father. It was his own wastefulness that lost for him his substance (which he could never regain though he might earn new substance). This, it seems to me was Jesus' general attitude toward God and it differs from the old idea in that, according to the old idea, once a man had broken the covenant, God was no longer bound by it but might resort to any punishment he might choose regardless of the nature of the sin. Of course not all held such a view but in general that was the old viewpoint. It was natural for Jesus to use the terminology of his time and in making the contrast to think of His Way as revealing a New Covenant but I doubt whether we can think of the Sacraments as the seal of a Covenant

9. See W. Robertson Smith-Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, N.Y., 1889 pp.252 ff., 300 ff.
10. Luke 15: 11-32.

without bringing in a connotation of the word that is more or less foreign to Jesus' teaching. However if we can use the term Covenant and get clear of its old terminology, I have no objection to thinking of the Sacraments as the Seal of a Covenant.

The View of Sacraments as Symbols.

As I have stated there is a little Scriptural authority for the first of these views, and a good deal for the second. There is also considerable authority for the third. John's baptism, best described by Luke is based on repentance and he repudiates the Jewish habit of feeling secure in their ancestry, as being Abraham's seed.(11) Jesus Himself did not baptize, and although baptism was practised by the earliest Christians, much more emphasis seems to have been laid on change of heart than on baptism itself.(12) Then if we examine the Lord's Supper in the four accounts we have of its institution, in two (13) we cannot even prove that Jesus intended to institute a ceremony while in the other two(14) it seems to have been instituted as a simple memorial meal. Keeping these things in mind it seems to me that the furthest we can go is to make the Sacraments symbolic of an inner or spiritual development.

11. Luke 3:8

12. See Acts 8:26 ff. 1:5; 18:8

13. Matt. 26:26-30; Mark 14:22-26

14. Luke 22:14-23; I Cor. 11:23-26

They can have no inherent efficacy. I feel that this view is most in harmony with the spirit of Jesus and feel that I should hold this viewpoint though one should quote text after text to prove that I was wrong. To come to a reasonable view upon any such subject two things must be taken into account. First any specific words must be taken in the light of the whole body of Jesus' teaching, and secondly, account must be taken of religious and other development since that time. In accepting this view however I do not wish to infer that these other views are wholly devoid of truth or of value. Though I cannot believe that the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ, I do believe that Jesus must be present at the Lord's Table, but He must be at the Communion not in it. The real presence must be in our hearts not in the elements. Also the idea of Sacraments as Seals of a Covenant contains the truth that there is a very definite relationship between God and man. I admit these truths. I think the viewpoint of the Sacraments which I hold is perhaps best summed up in W. M. Clow's definition of the sacramental principle. He says "This sacramental principle can be defined as the generalization of the truth that things inward, unseen, spiritual, heavenly, may be symbolized by the outward, seen, natural, earthly, and that these symbols may be so employed as to quicken faith

in these spiritual things, bring the soul into actual contact with them, and subdue the will to a devotion to them and their service." (15)

(b) Baptism and Lord's Supper Only to Be Included.

I have already stated my view with regard to the meaning of "Sacrament" and have taken a viewpoint quite different from the Roman Catholic conception. The next question that presents itself is with regard to the number of sacraments. The Roman Church observes seven sacraments, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. Protestants recognize two of these, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The view of the meaning of the word Sacrament that I have taken (16) could hardly be said to rule out the application of the term sacrament to the other five provided they be interpreted symbolically. In fact this viewpoint gives the term sacrament a rather broad application so that I can hardly limit myself to the consideration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper on the ground that ~~any~~^{my} definition of the word "Sacrament" rules out the other five. My first reason for limiting myself is a practical one. As a Protestant minister

15. W. M. Clow- The Church and the Sacraments,
London, 1923 pp. 14-15

16. See above. p. 11

working in a Church which observes Baptism, and the Lord's Supper only as Sacraments, those are the only two I shall be called upon to administer as such, hence my direct interest is in those two. My second reason is also somewhat practical. The multiplication of Sacraments like the multiplication of rites and ceremonies is fraught with grave dangers in that they tend to become ends, instead of means to an end. Thus it seems to me that a limitation is necessary together with a strong emphasis on their symbolic nature. The principle of limitation should be their connection with Jesus, the Founder of our faith. Baptism and the Lord's Supper seem to have had a direct connection. The other five have a less direct connection and in fact in some instances the connection seems to be somewhat forced. Let us make a short examination of these five. (17)

Confirmation is thought to complete the blessing received in Baptism. Scriptural sanction is claimed in such passages as Acts 8:14-17 (18) and Heb. 6:2. (19) However Confirmation as such does not appear until the fifth century so that it can hardly be said to have direct connection with Jesus.

17. For a good discussion of the other sacraments of Roman Catholicism, see W. M. Clow (op. cit. pp. 36-46)
18. The laying on of hands by Peter and John and the consequent reception of the Holy Ghost is referred to here.
19. Heb. 6:1b-2 "Let us press on unto perfection; not laying again a foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith toward God, of the teaching of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead and of eternal judgment."

Penance (Lat. *pœnitentia*) is the Douay translation of the Greek *μετάνοια* which the Authorized and other versions translate "repentance." (20) So^{to} the Roman Catholic, three acts are connected with forgiveness; contrition, confession (based on Jno. 20:23), (21) and satisfaction. "'Every sin is followed by two consequences : the guilt or stain which it leaves on the soul, and the debt of punishment, or satisfacti^son which must be offered to God to atone for the injury or offence offered to Him.'" (22) The guilt is blotted out when one sincerely repents and receives the Sacrament of Penance, but there is still required a temporal satisfaction either here or in purgatory. Temporal satisfaction atones for the fault while good conduct piles up merit and on this ground indulgences are granted. the abuse to which this doctrine of merits can be put is readily seen as is also the fact that it is absolutely out of harmony either with Jesus' teaching or with that of the apostles.

The Roman doctrine of Matrimony as a sacrament is decidedly inconsistent with its elevation of celibacy as the holier state. Of course marriage is as old as mankind and a ceremony of some kind nearly as old. That Jesus held a very high conception of the married state is shown in his attitude

20. W. M. Clow, op. cit. p. 37.

21. "Whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

22. W. M. Clow, op. cit. 38-9.

toward divorce (23) and especially in his words "so that they are no more two but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." (24) I think we can well afford to go somewhat toward regarding Matrimony as a Sacrament as we are too apt to regard it merely as a civil contract but the advisability of regarding it as a Sacrament in the same sense as the Lord's Supper is perhaps doubtful as it is a multiplication of Sacraments although frankly I will not quarrel with the person who tends to regard Matrimony as a sacrament (in the symbolic sense) and I may say the same statement holds good regarding ordination which was evidently practised very early, and which is indeed symbolic of a tremendous commission from God Himself to enter His service.

The sacrament of Extreme Unction administered to the dying has so little New Testament confirmation that it need not be considered here. (25)

(c) Direct Origins Only Will Be Considered:

No one can look at the Sacraments as we have them to-day and not realize that they contain many accretions and

23. Matt. 19:3-12; Mark 10:2-12; Luke 16:18

24. Matt. 19:6

25. James 5:14-16 being the only passage and its interpretation must be forced.

developments. To follow all of these back to their sources would be an almost endless task. Infant Baptism, for example most certainly was not the New Testament form yet grew out of it. I shall make no effort to trace this growth or to enumerate the influences which tended toward it. I shall limit myself to tracing the Jewish roots of Christian Baptism as it appears in the New Testament and shall refer to later developments only when they have a direct bearing on the subject. I shall observe a similar limitation with regard to the Lord's Supper. The Sacrament whether observed in the Protestant or Catholic manner finds its origin in that little ceremony which took place in the "upper room" in Jerusalem. I am not concerned with the later accretions which came from various sources, the most noteworthy of which was the Greek Mystery Religious. My task will be to consider the probable origin of that little ceremony which took place there in the "upper room", whether it was something new, or grew out of some previous custom. In the next chapter I shall deal with the roots of the Sacrament of Baptism and in the following two chapters with those of the Lord's Supper from that standpoint. In the concluding chapter I shall attempt to sum up the conclusions reached.

Jewish Roots of The Christian Sacraments

Chapter II

Jewish Roots of Baptism.

A. Universal Character of Purification Rites.

(a) Baptism in some form among many peoples.

If Baptism was a rite peculiar to Christianity it would be easy to trace its origin. If the various ceremonial lustrations and purifications which we find in the Jewish religion were peculiar to Judaism the task would still be easy. The difficulty lies in the fact that not only were such purificatory and baptismal rites practiced by Jews and Christians but by the early Greeks, Romans, and in fact in some form or other by most of the nations of antiquity. Water has ever been associated with cleansing. In the earliest times it was discovered that water would remove dirt from the body and primitive man working on that analogy came to think of it as in a sense cleansing from moral guilt and ceremonial uncleanness. It was early used in those rites which were applied to free the person from various taboos. There is no doubt that in the earliest view this cleansing was thought to be in a sense magical, and the magical element remained until very late. Perhaps some of it remains until the present. Besides the cleansing power

of water, people, especially in the animistic stage apparently working on the analogy of the life-giving quality of water shown in its power to quench thirst and to refresh the body came to think of certain waters as having powers of healing. Thus there are in the later lustrations and purifications where water is used two main ideas, those of cleansing and of healing. From the latter idea comes the idea that certain waters applied form a protection of the individual from evil spirits and other evil influences. Thus it is quite natural that water should be used to free a young child (as well as its mother) from the taboo which was thought to be attached to it at birth and also that some application of water should take place later upon the admission of the child into full relationship with the clan. In fact that is just what did happen among many peoples. This purification by water was quite common in some of the Greek Mystery Religions. Those to be initiated into the mystery religion of the Greek Eleusinia had first to take a bath of cleansing. From this bath the candidate "emerged-- a new man with a new name." (1) Clement of Alexandria and others of the Greek Fathers refer to this καθάρσις as a parallel to Christian Baptism. (2) Mithraism contained rites so nearly parallel to Baptism that many have thought that

1. J. A. MacCulloch in Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion & Ethics. N. Y. 1910, Vol. 2, p. 373
2. Strom v.71,72. See Hastings loc. cit.

these rites were borrowed from Christianity. In fact many think that the later Mysteries were imitations from Christianity. It may be said that many of these Mysteries maintained a high standard. Although influenced by Christianity however as some of the later mysteries undoubtedly were, enough can be found in earlier Greek and Persian usage to account for their origin, and the fact that there were pre-Christian Mysteries would rather point to an origin outside of Christian or Jewish circles, even of the later Mysteries. Both Christianity and the Mystery religions supplied a need in the lives of men which the old national religions failed to supply.

(b) Relation of Baptism to the Mystery Religions.

The question now comes before us, if the Mysteries did not borrow to any extent from Christianity and if some of them preceded Christianity in point of time might not Christian Baptism have been borrowed from the Mystery Religions? It is possible, yet very improbable. The Jewish people were too exclusive at the end of the pre-Christian and the beginning of the Christian era to absorb many non-Jewish forms, and the Mysteries as they appear at that time had not had time to make their influence felt on the naturally exclusive Jews bound as they were by an intense legalism

begun by Ezekiel and intensified by the second century (E. C.) struggle against Hellenism. That Christian Baptism traces its direct origin to John the Baptist is too evident in the eyes of New Testament scholars. That John was using a custom that was Jewish in origin is not so evident, but the fact that we find purifications and lustrations within Judaism which were beginning to take on a meaning similar to that which John applied to his Baptism would hardly necessitate our seeking outside of Judaism for an origin. Furthermore that Jesus regarded John as in direct spiritual succession to the great prophets would seem to be implied in His words after the messengers from John had departed "But wherefore went ye out? to see a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet." (3) Thus I think we must look elsewhere rather than to the Greek mystery cults if we would find the chief roots of Christian Baptism. However, once Christian Baptism was loosed into the Greek world it began to be exposed to many subtle influences, and many of its accretions can undoubtedly be traced to the influence of the Mysteries. However that in itself would constitute a thesis, and cannot be dealt with here.

B. Relation of Jesus to Baptism.

(a) The Problem of Matt. 28:19

Basing the authority of a Sacrament on its connection with Jesus as I do, rather than on conformity to any particular definition of the word "Sacrament" the next problem is to work out the connection of Baptism with Jesus the Founder of the Christian faith. The fact that Baptism was so general in antiquity and was not limited to Christianity or even to Judaism should not break our faith in its observance. After all, what does it matter whether Jesus instituted Christian Baptism or whether He even commanded its observance. Enough to know that He submitted to it and that the early Christians adapted it to the new faith in such a way that it held a real place in their Church life. A rite, like a person who lays the emphasis on his ancestry rather than on his own worth, is sure to run up against the proverbial black sheep in its ancestry. However, ancestry does count and we like to feel that Baptism did have some connection with Jesus, though the value of its observance depends on the Spirit in which it is observed not on the rite itself which is a symbol only.

If it could be proved that Jesus commanded His disciples to baptize, the question would be settled for many people, although I will say that that would not

necessarily place us under obligation to observe in 1931 a custom which might have been peculiar to the first century. Still it would give it a kind of sanction that is important, a kind of direct spiritual connection with Jesus Himself. The difficulty is that it is hard to prove that Jesus gave the command. Such a command is recorded in two places only, indirectly in Mark 16:16, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned," and directly in Matt. 28:19, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

The former (Mark 16:16) occurs in a passage (Mark 16: 9-20) which is evidently spurious as far as the Gospel of Mark is concerned. I cannot enter here, very far into a critical discussion of this passage. Those who care to do so will find a good discussion in Moffatt's Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament.(4) Suffice it to say that there is an abrupt ending to the Gospel in verse 8 in the middle of a sentence, and even the uncritical can see that verses 9-16 are foreign to the remainder of the Gospel both in style and content. Furthermore this passage is not contained in the two oldest manuscripts and some other

4. James Moffatt. An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament 3, N. Y. 1929 pp 239-242.

authorities. Of course the ending might not belong to Mark and still give an authentic saying of Jesus, but the tone of the passage rather tends to a different conclusion and the fact that Q and Mark represent the two earliest sources tends to confirm the conclusion that here we have a much later passage.

The passage in Matthew (5) however can hardly be explained away as not a part of the original text. Stylistically and otherwise it bears too close a resemblance to the book as a whole and those who would try to separate it find themselves in endless difficulties when it comes to defending their action. Thus we cannot explain it away on textual grounds. Of course we must remember that the Gospel of Matthew as we have it, although containing some earlier material (Q), was written later than Mark, as is shown by the Markan material it contains. However it does not seem to have been written late enough to account for the presence of the Trinitarian Formula which we find in it. This constitutes our first difficulty because elsewhere in the New Testament baptism seems to have been in the name of Jesus only. (6) The Trinitarian Formula soon appeared however as is shown in the Didache where the following concern-

5. 28:19

6. See Acts 2:38; 8:16; Rom. 6:3; Gal. 3:27

ing Baptism is found (Chap. VII).(7) "Now concerning baptism, baptize thus : Having first taught all these things, baptize ye into the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." The Didache evidently comes from the end of the first or the beginning of the second century,(8) which puts it not many years after Matthew, which was probably not written in its present form before 70 A. D. (9) Thus to argue too much from the silence of the remainder of the New Testament on the Trinitarian formula is rather dangerous, for if it was not in existence previous to the writing of the Gospel of Matthew it certainly appeared soon afterward. There are one or two other objections which however ought to be mentioned. One of these lies in the fact that Paul evidently did not consider his mission as that of baptizing (10) as he would likely have done had he felt that it was a command of Jesus. Another lies in the fact that here we have a post resurrection experience which, unless we hold to a bodily resurrection would make the statement a matter of individual interpretation rather than of historic fact. However it may well have been a reminiscence of pre-resurrection days. None of these arguments against the authenticity of

7. P. Schaff-The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles³, N. Y. 1889 pp. 184-5

8. For discussion of date of composition see P. Schaff op. cit. pp. 119-123

9. See Moffatt op. cit. p. 212

10. I Cor. 1:14-15 "I thank God that I baptized none of you save Crispus and Gaius lest any man should say that ye were baptized into my name."

Matt. 28:19 as a statement of Jesus is conclusive, but they go to show that it is best not to stress too much this single isolated command. The writer of the Fourth Gospel states definitely that Jesus Himself did not baptize,(11) which is undoubtedly so. Thus if we are to relate Baptism to Jesus, it will not be to claim that He commanded it or that He Himself performed the rite.

(b) The Baptism of Jesus by John.

The sanction of Baptism on the part of Jesus comes rather when he allowed himself to be baptized by John. The Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan at the hands of John the Baptist is one of the best authenticated events of His life. It is narrated in Matt. 3:13-17; Mark 1:9-11; Luke 3:21-22 and indirectly in John 1:29-34. Its significance for Him seems to have been that it represented or symbolized a great decision in His life. It seems to have taken place at the time when he definitely left the carpenter shop to take up as a full-time occupation the great task to which he felt His Father had called Him. The decision was made. How to perform the task had yet to be decided. The Churches which practice Baptism upon admission to membership are really much nearer to the original significance of the rite as marking a

decision on the part of the individual than are we who practice infant Baptism although there is a real value in considering the child as a member of the Christian Community from its earliest days. However the ~~consideration~~ of "Infant Baptism" lies outside the realm of our discussion. Enough to say that it traces its development to that Baptism in the river Jordan although there is no doubt that the Greek and Roman customs of a lustration or purificatory bath at or near the time when the baby was named (12) had its effect. Marking as it did such a critical point in His life can we wonder that it left a tremendous impression on the mind of Jesus? Would it be strange if He came to regard it as symbolic of a great decision in the inner life, or that He should refer to it as symbolic of the New Birth as He apparently does in that great conversation with Nicodemus that we have recorded in John 3, or even that He should command His disciples to perform the rite as a symbol of a new birth in those whom they won even if He hesitated, in His struggle against the outward, to use the rite Himself.

C. John's Baptism.

(a) Manner of John's Baptism.

If then the submission of Jesus to John's Baptism is

12. See J. A. MacCulloch in Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, N. Y. 1910, Vol. 2 O 371

that which in a greater sense than any other sanctions our use of this rite as a Sacrament, and not necessarily any explicit command on His part, our next step will be to try to find the roots of John's Baptism. John was a Jew surrounded by that same wall of intense nationalism which encircled his race. Undoubtedly then we shall have to look within Judaism for those roots. Our first step will be to consider the manner of John's Baptism. All kinds of fanciful arguments have been advanced from time to time to prove that John baptized according to some accepted modern theory. Our only interest, in this discussion is to compare John's Baptism with any other forms that may have been prevalent at the time.

We cannot be sure what form John's Baptism took. Regarding the word βαπτίζειν which is used of John's Baptism, J. C. Lambert (13) says: "For the Hebrew word $\gammaָּוָּל$ which is used to describe the theocratic washings of the Jews, and which in the Septuagint is translated by λούεσθαι, has come in New Testament times to be rendered by βαπτίζειν. Βαπτίζειν, in fact is the regular technical term alike for the ceremonial washings of the Jewish law and for the

13. The Sacraments in the New Testament, Edinburgh, 1903 p.57

Messianic baptism of John." This is important from the standpoint of origin, but not so much so from the standpoint of description. The fact that Matthew and Mark speak of Jesus as coming up out of the water (14) points to the Baptism as having taken place standing in the water. Whether or not it took the form of complete immersion is a question. Paul has a reference in the earliest of his letters which would lead us to think it was.(15) The quotation is as follows: "We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life." This quotation would seem to point to a complete immersion. In its directions as to baptism the Didache has: "'Baptize thus:'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit' in living; but if thou hast no living water, baptize in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. If thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head 'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.'"(16) Commenting Gavin says: "It is clear that the Didache contemplates as normal, baptism by immersion in living water.(17) The Didache in allowing baptism by aspersion would rather point to a development away from immersion than to-

14. Matt. 3:16; Mark 1:10

15. Rom. 6:4

16. F.Gavin-The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments,London,1928 p 43

17. loc. cit.

ward it. Such would also be implied by such passages as Acts 8:38. Of course some have argued that in the case of the baptism of the jailer in Acts 16:33 the time of the night and the absence of sufficient water would tend to make immersion impossible under the circumstances. However such an argument is rather superficial as is also the argument that the baptism of households referred to in that passage and also in Acts 16:5 and I Cor. 16:1, would necessarily refer to infant baptism. I think our conclusion must be that John's Baptism took the form of immersion of some sort, administered to adults.

Another problem as to the manner of John's baptism arises out of a variant reading of Luke 3:7. "In Mark 1:9 the repentant are baptized ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου. But in Luke III:7, where the ordinary text (and Wescott and Hort) has βαπτισθῆναι ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ, the western text has βαπτισθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ." (18) This reading "before him" would make it seem that John took no direct part in the act, or in other words that it was self-baptism in the presence of John. Montefiore gives a similar interpretation to Mark 1:5. He says: "The immersion was the worshipper's own act. 'Baptized by John' would mean 'under his influence and by his instigation and sanction.'" (19)

18. I. Abrahams-Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels
First Series, Cambridge 1917 p 38

19. C. G. Montefiore-The Synoptic Gospels², London 1927
Vol.1 p 7.

Gavin also quotes from Easton along this same line.(20)
Thus although in general the New Testament seems to point to an officiant in the administration of baptism, there are evidences that point to a practice of self administration in the presence of officiant and witnesses. This is important as we shall see when we compare it with Jewish proselyte baptism.

(b) Purpose of John's Baptism.

This too is important to our study in making any comparison with existing forms. What was the purpose of John's baptism? There seems little doubt that John's baptism had a strong eschatological significance. He felt that he was the forerunner of a greater one, "And he preached saying: There cometh after me he that is mightier than I,"(21) and he preached the near approach of the Messianic Kingdom, ~~and~~ His baptism was a preparation for the advent of the Messiah. The idea of a purification prior to the restoration of the exiles was probably in the mind of Jeremiah in the words of 36:8, "And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity whereby they have sinned against me, and whereby they have transgressed against me." It is probable that there is somewhat of the eschatological element here which led later to the

20. F. Gavin op. cit. p 50.

21. Mark 1:7. Cf. Matt. 3:11; Luke 3:16.

idea that a cleansing would accompany the inauguration of the Messianic age. Even more significant in this regard would be the words of the prophet-priest Ezekiel who, more than any other perhaps, moulded the thought life of the exiles and together with Jeremiah preserved Jehovah worship at a time when it was in greatest danger of extinction. He says, speaking of Jehovah's relation to the restored Israel, which Ezekiel argued would have to be restored that the name of Jehovah should be vindicated, "And I will sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean: from all your idols and your filthiness will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my ordinances, and do them." (22) Such passages as these would naturally tend to be applied more and more to the Messianic Kingdom as the hope took a larger place in the life of Israel. More and more, with the rise of the Apocalyptic aspect of this hope which had begun to develop even before the time of Ezekiel, this thought of a washing previous to the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom would occupy the minds of pious Jews. More and more also with the rise of the legalistic spirit the idea of such a lustration would take on a ceremonial aspect. Thus with this in mind we can see

why John became so popular all at once. His was a pre-Messianic baptism, a preparation for the Messianic age which was soon to dawn. However John did not stop there. He realized that a mere ceremonial purification was not enough. Baptism must be accompanied by a change in the inner life. In fact that change must come first. His was a "baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins," according to Mark 1:4 not anything superficial or on the surface. A fine extra-Biblical tribute comes from Josephus. Quoting from Abrahams: "John, says Josephus, was 'a good man who exhorted the Jews to exercise virtue (ἀρετή), both as to justice (δικαιοσύνη), towards one another and piety (εὐσέβεια) towards God and to come to baptism (βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι). For baptism (τὴν βάπτισιν), if they used it, not for the pardon of certain sins, but for the purification of the body, provided that the soul had been thoroughly purified by righteousness'". (23) This passage seems to be genuine and is exceedingly interesting as substantiating the New Testament idea that there was in the Baptism a strong moral element. It may be said in addition that Josephus throws other light on John which seems to show that evidently he had such strong nationalistic tendencies, that Herod thought it better to get rid of him. (24) This is somewhat different from the account of Matt. 14:1-12 but makes

23. I. Abrahams op. cit. p 30

24. loc. cit.

Herod's action all the more understandable, and also goes to show John's very definite relation to the popular hope of his time. The passage which I quoted however raises a real difficulty in the interpretation of John's baptism which we find in Mark, for in Mark it is described as "the baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins" and this is the common New Testament view.(25) Josephus however "treats baptism as a bodily purification corresponding to an inward change, not as a means of remitting sins."(26) Furthermore as Abrahams points out the Pharisees had a formula "Repent and the Kingdom of God is at hand" which is similar to John's "Repent for the Kingdom of God is at hand."(27) Thus what John did, seems to have been to use a rite which he either invented or adapted to his use with a formula which he changed somewhat. Now if what Josephus implies is true, John evidently looked upon baptism as a bodily purification corresponding to the inward change and evidently administered upon the assurance or the hope that the inward change had or would take place. The denunciation of the Pharisees and Sadduces in Matt. 3:7-10 Cf. Luke 3:7-10 would rather seem to corroborate this statement of Josephus as inferring that possibly John's baptism was not always accompanied by sincere

25. Cf. Matt. 4:1-12; Luke 3:1-14

26. Abrahams op. cit. p 34.

27. loc. cit.

repentance. If this be so, then apparently baptism was still, even in the hands of John primarily a ceremonial lustration having as its object bodily purification and looking toward the expected Messianic age. Josephus (Abrahams loc.cit.) seems to have identified John with the Essenes. There is no doubt that he was ascetic and somewhat communistic (Luke 3:11), but whether he was as rigid as the members of that sect is a question. If we knew more about the practice of this sect we might have the solution of John's association of baptism with his prophetic call. Living as he did in a highly legalistic age it is quite possible that John did regard baptism as a bodily purification. However it would be impossible for a man to carry the two ideas of bodily purification and moral righteousness signified by baptism on the one hand, and repentance on the other without tending to associate the two ideas, so that if John himself did not do so (which is hardly likely) the early Christians soon would and baptism would soon come to be symbolic of an inner change. I will venture to say that John himself began the process of association and that the facts warrant us in believing that ~~to~~ John's baptism did in a sense symbolize the moral change as well as mere ceremonial purification, although the ceremonial element was undoubtedly strong.

(c) Relation of John's Baptism to Jewish Proselyte Baptism,

Now that we have attempted to show the meaning of baptism for John, the next step will be to try and find out

where he got the rite out of which he made so impressive a ceremony. Is it something which he himself invented or did he adapt something already at hand to his purpose? The former is possible but highly improbable. In the first place the word that is used ($\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$) has a familiar connotation that precedes the time of John. I have already quoted from Lambert, (28) showing that $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$ is the technical term for the Jewish ceremonial washings as well as John's baptism. (This would further Josephus' contention that baptism was a ceremonial purification of the body). This points to an origin of the idea in these Jewish ceremonial lustrations. (29) However this is not likely to satisfy us as these seem to be a remote rather than a direct ancestry and we are more interested in the latter. Here there arises a difficulty however, owing to the scarcity of information coming from the time immediately preceding and following John the Baptist. About all that we can do is to look into the literature of the Tannaitic Period i.e. the first and second centuries A. D. and try to reconstruct the background. What strikes us in this literature are the references to Jewish Proselyte Baptism. If we can prove that this

28. See above p. 27-28

29. This fact is too generally acknowledged to need further proof. See J. C. Lambert-The Sacraments in the New Testament, Edinburgh 1903 p.56 f. W. M. Clow-The Church and the Sacraments, London, 1923 etc. For examples of Jewish ceremonial lustrations see Ex. 19:10; 30:18; Lev. 14:32; 15:13 etc.

resembles John's baptism enough and antedates it we may make the conjecture that John got the idea from that source but that is about all. Let us now proceed with that task.

When the Southern Kingdom ceased to exist in 586 and the exiles were carried into Babylon, there was a tendency to forget Jehovah or else to regard Him as defeated by the gods of Babylon and hence as a "back number." A tremendous change had to be wrought in the minds of the people. This was accomplished largely through the efforts of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Emphasis was laid on the individual rather than the nation. Largely under the influence of Ezekiel the exiles came to look upon themselves as a religious rather than a political unit. As time went on this idea was strengthened. The disappointment felt by the returned exiles as certain political ambitions were shattered, strengthened this idea still further. The rise of legalism was, in a sense a defense reaction against the tendency of the Jews to absorb ^{foreign} religious ideas. The Babylonians and Persians made little effort to impose their religious customs on the Jews. With the Greek conquest (333 B. C.) however, came Hellenism with its wonderful power of overcoming conquered nations. It did not affect the Jews much at first but its effect was soon seen and as Greek customs and usages became more common the higher went the barriers about the Jewish faith. The ambitions of

Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenize the Jews which resulted in the Macabbean revolt raised this anti-foreign feeling to its height. An attempt was made to prevent intermarriage between Jews and Gentile women. The latter were regarded as constantly unclean and must become proselytes to Judaism or else spread uncleanness which was thought to be contagious, although we do have a tradition to the effect that the Jews by nature could not contract uncleanness. The former idea is evidently that out of which proselyte baptism grew.(30).Proselytism meant submission to the "tebilah"(31) or purificatory bath. This was based on certain washings required of Jews themselves. These were part of the purification ceremony to cleanse from uncleanness contracted by having an issue of blood(Lev.15:1-15), certain normal bodily functions (Lev.15:16 ff.),etc. A similar purification was required in approaching a holy place(Ex.19:10)

The T.J.Pesahim VIII last lines; Tosefta Pesahim VII.13 has the following."Rabbi Eleazer ben **Jacob** says:'Soldiers were Guards of the Gates in Jerusalem; they were baptized and ate their Paschal lambs in the evening.'"(32) The record of this event of course is later but it seems that Eleazar ben Jacob is quite reliable and that this report may be considered authentic.(33) This being so, the event referred to must have taken place before 70 A.D.,probably not more than three years before, however. Around the end of

30. See Gavin op. cit.p.30

31. See Gavin-The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments, London 1928 pp 29-30

32. I Abrahams-Studies,First Series,Cambridge 1917 p.37

33. loc.cit.

the first, or the beginning of the second century there is recorded (Yebamoth 46a) a discussion between Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrkanos as to whether baptism or circumcision was the essential rite of admission to Judaism (34) Quoting from Schurer:"It would appear, according to the Talmud, that on the occasion of admitting proselytes strictly so called into the Jewish communion three things were necessary: *מִיֶּזֶה*, circumcision; *הִבְטִיחַ*, baptism, i.e. a bath with a view to Levitical purification; and *הִרְצִיחַ דְּמָיִם*, a sacrifice (literally, a gracious acceptance of blood). In the case of women only the last two were required. After the destruction of the Temple, as a matter of course the sacrifice was discontinued also. In the Mishna all three are presupposed as being already of long standing; nay for Rabbinical Judaism they are so much matters of course that even apart from any explicit testimony we should have to assume that they were already currently practised in the time of Christ." (35) This evidence is none too conclusive. However on the evidence we have so far considered we may safely conclude that Jewish proselyte baptism dates back to Temple times. Now of course when we first meet with references to a rite we can usually safely assume ~~that~~ a period of develop-

34. See Gavin op. cit p 31.

35. Schurer- A History of the Jewish People 2 Edinburgh 1885 II. ii pp 319-20. Cf. Abrahams op cit pp 37-8

How long this

ment. takes, however at best can be but a conjecture. Developments are sometimes speedy, sometimes slow. Thus when we remember that the first explicit reference is to a date some fifty years after the time with which we are dealing it is unsafe to say the least, to make any dogmatic statement regarding John's baptism as growing out of Jewish proselyte baptism. However it is generally admitted that proselyte baptism was prevalent in the time of John.

Our next step will be to examine proselyte baptism more closely to see how close it resembles the baptism of John. We have two chief sources from which to get a description of proselyte baptism. They are the Babylonian Talmud (Yeb.47) and a manuel "On Proselytes" (Gerim) an extra-canonical Tractate of the Talmud.(36) Quoting from Gavin "Apart from rubrics the rite thus recorded consists of the following parts:(a)The presentation and examination of the Candidate; (b) the instruction of the Candidate;(c) his circumcision if a male; (d) the act of Baptism- entering the water, summary resume of some elements of the instruction, the act of immersion (and a final address of congratulation and exhortation)"(37) Gavin has quoted from the two parallel passages viz. from Yeb. 47 a,b, and Gerim I.(38) I will try

36. See Gavin op cit pp 31-2

37. Gavin op cit p 32

38. Gavin op cit pp 33-35

to summarize the information we get from these two sources. With regard to the presentation and examination of the Candidate, there was pointed out to him the fact that Israel was under affliction and that admission would probably mean such for him. Upon his asserting his willingness to endure such, an instruction took place. This instruction evidently took the form of commands regarding the poor, certain forbidden foods, and the keeping of the Sabbath. It seems that a much more systematic instruction must have been given them, than that recorded in Yeb 47 a,b. The instruction was to be followed by circumcision (if a male). After the wound healed he was to be baptized. This took the form of self immersion in the presence of witnesses. Upon coming up from the water he was considered an Israelite. This baptism had to be in living water if possible. (Cf. Didache)(39) Now the chief difficulty seems to be that in the Jewish proselyte baptism thus recorded (around the end of the first or beginning of the second century) the resemblance is to the Christian baptism in the same period rather than the baptism out of which the Christian baptism sprang. This can be shown by comparison with the Didache and the Egyptian Church Order (which although dating from the third century probably represents a second century redaction of Hippolytus, "The

39. See above p 28.

Apostolic Tradition ") which was evidently nearly contemporary with the sources of Jewish proselyte baptism (the Babylonian Talmud, Yeb 47 a,b and the Gerim) quoted above. These sources show that Christian baptism was also preceded by an examination and a period of instruction. Some of the rubrics are very similar to those connected with proselyte baptism. Baptism seems to have been by immersion, the officiant retaining his hand on the head of the candidate thus pointing to a form "midway between self-baptism and 'administered baptism.'" (40) In both Christian and proselyte baptism a new birth was expected to take place although externally the Jew's relation was perhaps more exclusive to old social ties. If then proselyte baptism and contemporary Christian baptism bore so close a resemblance to each other what are we to conclude? It is difficult to say. Christian baptism might be modeled on Jewish proselyte baptism. On the other hand the reverse might be true. However that hardly seems likely because it would make John the originator of the rite as such which seems unlikely. It would be more reasonable to presume that John adapted a rite already in existence to his purpose than that he started a rite which the Jews later adapted to theirs. The fact that we have record of proselyte baptism as early as 67 A. D. points to a system already well

40. Gavin op. cit p 50 . Cf above p. 29

developed, the presupposition of the Mishna to baptism as of long standing,(41) the fact that the Pharisees and others in the time of Jesus observed many lustrations, the fact that we seem to have evidence that the earliest Christian baptism may have been self-administered, all of these point to the existence of proselyte baptism at an early date. If it was, there seems little doubt that John's baptism the direct origin of Christian baptism was based on that rite. On the other hand the lack of direct evidence of proselyte baptism previous to 67 A.D. makes these arguments anything but conclusive. However on a priori grounds it seems reasonably certain that proselyte baptism preceded John's in point of time. If we would be on the safe side we could find the origin of both in the lustrations and purification ceremonies of later Judaism (See Lev.13-16 etc.). However though it cannot be fully proved, it seems likely that John's Baptism came from these via Jewish proselyte baptism, as it was practiced in his time. Unless we hold that the Essenes used baptism with a significance very similar to that which it had in the hands of John, it seems almost certain that John gave it somewhat of a new meaning, and opened up the way for its development in the direction of a more ethical connotation.

41. Schurer-A History of the Jewish People 2. Edinburgh 1885 II ii p 320

Jewish Roots of the Christian Sacraments.

Chapter III

Jewish Roots of the Lord's Supper.

A

The Institution of the Supper.

(a) Instituted by Jesus.

In studying the origin of Christian baptism we found that it could not with certainty be attributed directly to Jesus' express command but that it was His submission to the rite which gives the rite its sanction. With the Lord's Supper the case is somewhat different. We still cannot be too sure that Jesus commanded its repetition though two of the (1) accounts record such a command. We can be sure however, that the institution can be traced directly to Jesus as He and His disciples ate that last simple meal together in the upper room. But our problem is not yet solved. There is still the question of origin. Upon what if anything was that ceremony based?

(b) Probably based on a previous custom.

The question of origin opens out two major possibilities. Either Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper as some-

1. Luke 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24,26

thing new, or else it was based on some customary meal or observance. The former is possible, but not likely. In the first place the recorders of the Lord's Supper (except Paul) state that it was a passover celebration. (2) Now there are some decided objections to the view that this was a Paschal meal. Nevertheless it does go to show that the evangelists tended to look upon this as something not entirely new. The fact that Luke (3) records the disciples as recognizing the risen Lord in the breaking of bread would seem to further this view. Furthermore the disciples would tend to remember something which had often taken place much more than a single isolated event in the life of the Master. It is the habitual actions of those we love that we tend to remember. But even if the institution of the Lord's Supper itself was something new, Matthew, Mark, Luke and Paul (4) all infer that it took place at some meal which they were eating together. Thus even if we regard the simple little ceremony which has come down to us as instituted by Jesus as something new we would still be under the necessity of determining the nature of the meal out of which it grew. There are several theories which I shall take up in order,

2. Matt. 26:17; Mark 14:16; Luke 22:13 Cf. John 13:1

3. 24:30-31

4. Matt. 26:26; Mark 14:18; Luke 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25
Cf. John 13:1

Theories as to the Lord's Supper and the Meal Out of Which it Grew.

(a) That it was a Passover Meal.

As the Interpretation of the Synoptic Gospels this has been the traditionally accepted theory of the Church. Such is the view of Philip Schaff (5) and partly, of J. C. Lambert.(6) The way the former works it out is interesting. He begins by quoting from the Didache IX and X on the Eucharist. I am going to give the quotation as it is important to see along what lines the Eucharist developed. (7)

(Chap. IX) 'As regards the Eucharist, give thanks in this manner.

First for the cup:

'We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus,Thy servant (or, child): to Thee be the glory forever! And for the broken bread:

'We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant: to Thee be the glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered (in grains) upon the mountains, and being gathered

5. See Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,3,N.Y. 1889 p 59

6. See The Sacraments in the New Testament,Edinburgh,
1903 p 316

7. I shall use the terms Eucharist and Lord's Supper interchangeably. The word Eucharist comes from the Greek εὐχαριστήσας the aorist participle of εὐχαρίστω and connotes thanksgiving or blessing (See Matt 26: 26-7; Mk.14:22-3; Luke 22:17,19; 1 Cor.11:24-5) For the technicalities involved,see Gavin-The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments,London 1928 pp 69 ff.

together became one, so let Thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto Thy Kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever'

But let no one eat of your Eucharist except those who have been baptized into the name of the Lord, for respecting this the Lord has said, 'Give not that which is holy to dogs.'

(Chap X) 'After being filled give thanks in this manner: "We thank Thee, O Holy Father, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast enshrined in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou madest known to us through Jesus, Thy servant: to Thee be the glory for ever, Thou, O Sovereign Almighty, didst create all things for the sake of Thy name, and gavest both food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they may give thanks to Thee. But to us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant. Before all things we thank Thee, that Thou art mighty: to Thee be the glory forever. Remember, O Lord, Thy Church to deliver her from every evil, and to make her perfect in Thy love; and do Thou gather her together from the four winds (the Church) sanctified for Thy Kingdom. which Thou didst prepare for her: for Thine is the power and glory forever. Let grace (Christ?) come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any one is holy, let him come; if anyone is not, let him repent. Maran-atha! Amen.'

But permit the Prophets to give thanks as much as they wish.'" (8)

Now the Passover meal consisted of five acts;(9)
(1) the blessing asked by the head of the family who took the first cup of wine;(2) the eating of bitter herbs, and another cup also the first part of the Hallel (Ps.113-114). During this act the significance of the feast was explained;(3) the feast proper (unleavened bread and the paschal lamb);(4) the thanksgiving and the blessing of the third cup with its draught;(5) The singing of Ps. 115-118 the remainder of the Hallel. Then come Schaff's conclusions viz. "The eucharistic cup which the Lord blessed and gave to the disciples, corresponds to the third paschal cup of thanksgiving which followed the breaking of the loaves and was made by Him, together with the broken bread, the sacrament of redemption by the sacrifice of His body and blood." (10)
To be sure there is a close resemblance between the Eucharist as given in the Didache and the Jewish passover rite but we must remember that the Didache, written about the end of the first century or beginning of the second records the Eucharist after a period of development in which

8. P. Schaff-Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,³ N.Y.
1889 pp 57-8

9. See Schaff op.cit.58-9

10. op.cit. p 59.

Jewish elements may have seeped in owing to its generally accepted connection with the Passover.

Lambert (11) contends that the Lord's Supper was partly a covenant meal at which Jesus, working out the idea of a new covenant based on the analogy of the relation of the Pashal meal as a seal to the old covenant, instituted the meal as a seal to the new. Thus with Lambert the Lord's Supper supercedes the Passover rather than grows directly out of it, i. e. it was a new observance instituted in the atmosphere of Passover observance.

The objections to this meal at which the Lord's Supper was instituted as being a Passover meal however are serious, owing to a discrepancy between the Synoptic accounts of the date of the Crucifixion and hence of the last supper with that of John, and also owing to the fact that the Synoptic accounts would seem to place the crucifixion on the first day of the Passover instead of the day before, which would seem to be impossible in the light of Jewish law. Let us then take a few moments to examine these accounts. Our interest is not as to what day of the week the Lord's Supper occurred but we are interested in trying to ascertain whether the Lord's Supper came on the eve of the Passover feast or

the evening before.

According to the Gospel of John (12) the last supper took place before the feast of the Passover.(13) In this connection we must remember that the Jewish day was from sunset to sunset, i. e. from about 6 P. M. to 6 P. M. the following day. Thus the day before Passover would probably be the Preparation day (Nisan 14th) which of course began the evening before at 6 P. M. at which time the last supper was observed. This is further proved by the fact that the disciples supposed (John 13:29) that Judas had gone out to buy what was needed for the feast. Nothing could have been bought the next night as all shops would have had to be closed. The fact that the supper took place on the Preparation day is confirmed by the fact that the priests would not enter the judgement hall the next morning (still the Preparation day i. e. Nisan 14th) lest they be defiled so that they could not eat the Passover,(14) and it is explicitly stated (15) that the crucifixion took place on the preparation of the ^{Passover}~~Sabbath~~. Thus there is no doubt in the mind of the writer of the Fourth Gospel that the crucifixion took place on the Preparation day and that the last supper took place just before, or at the beginning of that day (i. e.

12. 13:1

13. A. Wright- Some New Testament Problems, London
1898 p 171

14. John 18:28

15. John 19:14

after sunset the night before.) When we come to the Synoptic accounts however we are met by a different chronology. Mark, (16) who is followed by Matthew and Luke, says that the last supper took place "on the first day of unleavened bread" which would be the first day proper of the feast. This would place the crucifixion on the feast day (and possibly on the Sabbath as well) which would have been impossible under Jewish law, as it would have necessitated the Sanhedrin (17) meeting on the feast day. Inconsistencies in this dating may be shown in the gospel of Mark itself with its own dating as it refers to the buying of spices (18) and the carrying of arms all of which would be unlawful on the first day of the feast.(19) Matthew has one quite noticeable inconsistency with himself for in 27:62-3 where he says "now on the morrow which is the day after the Preparation the chief priests and the Pharisees were gathered together unto Pilate saying, Sir we remember that this deceiver said while he was yet alive, After three days I rise again" etc. This would point to the crucifixion as taking place on the Preparation day. About the only conclusion to which we can arrive is the conclusion that Mark (and Matthew whose account of the last supper depends on Mark's) got his information from a source less reliable than

16. 14:12 Cf. Matt. 26:17; Luke 22:7

17. Mark 14:53 ff. Matt. 26:57 ff. Luke 22:54 ff.

18. Mark 16:1

19. Mark 14:47; Cf. Matt. 26:51; Luke 22:55

that of John although this is contrary to the general view regarding the historical accuracy of the respective Synoptic and Johannine sources. Or Mark may have used an incomplete source and may have had to supply a little of the background by guesswork. Luke whose description of the last supper shows decided Pauline traces evidently depends on Mark for his chronological setting of the last supper. Wright who holds to the oral tradition theory of the Synoptic Problem offers rather an interesting solution of the Marcan inaccuracy regarding the last supper.(20) Basing his argument on the fact that the Fourth Gospel has the cleansing of the Temple at the beginning of Jesus ministry rather than near the end and on the fact that an undue portion of Mark is given over to the events of the Passion week, he would transfer some of these events to a previous Passover and would explain the discrepancy in chronology by the fact that Mark has confused two suppers, and that much that he records as belonging to the latter really belongs to the former. This theory is interesting and suggestive although not conclusive. It does go to show, however, that the last supper could not have been a regular Paschal meal and in light of the evidence I think we must arrive at that conclusion. However

20. A. Wright-Some New Testament Problems, London
1898 pp 175 ff

occurring as it did on the very eve of the Day of Preparation it must have been influenced by the spirit of the Passover season so that there is little wonder that some elements of that feast entered into its later observance and that the Synoptists got the idea that it was at a Paschal meal that the institution of the Lord's Supper took place.

(b) That it was an anticipated Passover.

It has been the opinion of some who have realized that the last supper could not have been a regularly observed Passover, that it was an anticipated Passover. Such a view was anticipated by Chwolson in his "Das letzte Passamahl Christi, ed. Leipzig 1908." He explains his theory (21) on the ground that in the year of the Crucifixion Nisan 14th coincided with the Sabbath which led to the lambs being offered on a different day. He also argues that "'the first day of the feast of unleavened bread'" (22) could only be used to designate Nisan 15th. Then by a clever emendation of a possible Aramaic text of Matthew he would have us read "'The day of unleavened bread drew near, and the disciples drew near to Jesus'" instead of "'On the first day of unleavened bread the disciples drew near to Jesus'". The Sahidic version of Luke 22:7 tends to support this theory

21. See J. H. Shrawley's article on the Eucharist in Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics N.Y. 1910 (Vol. 5 p 542) also J.C. Lambert, The Sacraments in the New Testament, Edinburgh, 1903, pp. 257-8
22. Lambert op. cit. p 257

as it reads "'The day of unleavened bread was nigh, on which the Passover must be sacrificed.'" (23) This theory is rather confusing, but suggestive. A similar theory of the meal as an anticipated Passover was advanced by Father Matthew Power in his Anglo-Jewish Calendar for every Day in the Gospels, London 1902 (24). His contention was that Jesus in keeping the Passover on Nisan 14th was keeping it on the correct Scriptural date whereas the Jewish reckoning of the time brought it a day later. Such an argument is rather strained and the same may be said of Chwolson's. Knowing the extreme legalism of the time it hardly seems that it would have been celebrated early, at least it would have been impossible to have got the Paschal lamb slaughtered a day early. And one of the arguments that seems most conclusive against the meal being either a Paschal meal or an anticipated Passover is that in none of the sources do we have any intimation that a lamb was eaten at the meal. Hence I do not see how we can consider the last supper as a Paschal meal although as I mentioned before (25) the meal taking place on the eve of the Preparation would bring it within the spirit of the Passover season.

23. op. cit. p. 258

24. op. cit. pp 258-9

25. See above p. 52

(c) Miscellaneous on the Passover Theory.

The theory of many rabbinic students regarding the phase "Keeping the Passover" has been that in the Gospel of John it refers to the Chăgîgāh rather than the Paschal meal. This was the early view of Sanday, but he was later convinced by Hort to the contrary. (26) Those who have held to this theory have thought that by the phase "eating the Passover" John meant the Chăgîgāh, while Mark referred to the Paschal meal. This was a feast which is not mentioned in the Pentateuch, but which was one of the traditions of the elders. It could be eaten any time during the feast but was generally eaten on the second day (the old first day). It was later even more important than the Paschal meal and might be referred to as "eating the Passover." Thus the priests having been rendered unclean by entering the judgment hall could purify themselves from this which was a secondary uncleanness and could partake of this ^{feast} even though the Paschal meal was over and still feel that they were observing the Passover. Thus the accounts in John and the Synoptics would be harmonized. However our knowledge of the Chăgîgāh comes from the Talmud and is therefore late and we cannot even be sure that it was in existence in Jesus time, let alone that it had the

26. See Wright-Some New Testament Problems, London
1898 pp 173-5

place of importance suggested by the advocates of this theory. The whole argument is strained and artificial. The uncleanness attached to the priests from their entrance into the judgment hall could hardly be got rid of so easily in an age as legalistic as the first century. The Synoptic and Johannine accounts ~~simply~~ cannot be harmonized and we simply have to conclude that one is wrong. The evidence of authenticity is certainly in favor of the account given in the Fourth Gospel.

(d) That it got its distinctive elements from the Mysteries.

In a pamphlet issued in 1893 and entitled Origin of the Lord's Supper Dr. Percy Gardner advanced the theory that the Lord's Supper received its distinctive form from Paul who visited Elusis as he was going from Athens to Corinth, and gained an acquaintance with the Eleusinian Mystery Cult (27). That this contention was based on insufficient evidence is shown by the fact that Dr. Gardner later modified his theory giving up the idea that Paul was directly influenced by the Eleusinian Mysteries but still retaining the idea that he contributed to the supper much of its sacramental emphasis. (28) However the Lord's Supper as recorded in I Cor 11 is still a very simple observance and it is doubtful if

27. See W. M. Clow-The Church and the Sacraments, London 1923 p.20

28. See Percy Gardner. Exploratio Evangelica, N. Y. 1899 pp 442-462

Paul made much if any contribution in this respect. The later magical elements which entered in undoubtedly were suggested by the Mysteries but for the first few years after its origin as well as in its origin, the influence of the Mystery religions was negligible. Though some have held to its origin in the mystery cults we may dismiss the idea as based upon insufficient evidence. That Paul may have influenced the Lord's Supper somewhat is the contention of Montefiore (29) and others, as well as of Gardner. Godet held that Paul's account as given in 1 Cor. 11 is of the highest authority, as having been revealed to him in a vision of events as they took place in the upper room.(30) This view could hardly be given preference over more direct evidence in the light of modern critical research.

(e) That it was a Kiddûsh Feast.

In dealing with the Kiddûsh Feast we are under somewhat the same handicap that we encountered in connection with Jewish proselyte baptism. Our sources are late. Coming from the Tannaitic Period (c 30 -220 A. D.) as these do we have to figure on a lacuna of over half a century as practically none of this literature in its present form comes from a period earlier than 100 A. D. and some of it

29. The Synoptic Gospels² London, 1927 Vol. 1p. 338

30. See Lambert-The Sacraments in the New Testament, Edinburgh 1903 p 247

e. g. the Mishna in its compiled form may not have taken definite shape until near 200. Thus we are under the necessity of estimating the age of some of the customs mentioned in this literature and estimations at best are dangerous,. However it may be said that there is much less doubt in the minds of scholars regarding the existence of the Kiddûsh in the time of Christ than there is regarding the existence of proselyte baptism. It shows evidence of having existed not only in Christ's time but considerably before His time, apparently having arisen some time after the Exile. Such references in Tannaitic literature as Pes. 114 a (31) and Ber. 33a etc., are those which seem to indicate that the feast had been in existence for some time. Ber. 33a traces it back to the time of the Great Synagogue.

The word Kiddûsh comes from the same Hebrew root as the word we translate holy and is a shortened form of the phrase Kêdûshath hayôm i. e. sanctification of the day.(32) It was a weekly observance at which groups of friends known as Chaburoth gathered together for a meal which was partly social and partly religious. It began on the afternoon before the Sabbath sufficiently early so that the friends

31. See W. O. E. Oesterley-The Jewish Background of Christian Liturgy, Oxford 1925 p 168.

32. See op. cit. p 167

had time to talk over matters especially religious matters before the Sabbath began. At sunset or around six o'clock just as the Sabbath was about to begin there was a pause while the head of the group took a cup of wine and pronounced a blessing over it (Tos. Ber.V 4) (33). This was followed by the sanctification prayer proper. Dembitz in his article on the Kiddûsh in the Jewish Encyclopedia (34) quotes the ending of the middle benediction of this prayer which is as follows: "'Elessed...who sanctifieth the Sabbath; blessed...who sanctifieth Israel and the seasons...; blessed ...the King over all the earth who sanctifieth Israel and the day of Memorial'". This part of the prayer as quoted shows the tremendous respect of Jews for the name of Yahweh which is here omitted. The term Adonai was usually substituted. The blessing over the cup reads as follows "'Elessed art Thou, O Lord our God, Eternal King, who created the fruit of the vine' and over the bread 'Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, who bringest forth bread from the earth.'" (35) If this is the actual prayer (based on Ps.114:15) which Jesus used over the cup and the bread as Oesterley thinks, it is significant for its resemblance to the prayer of thanksgiving over the Eucharist as given in the Didache. (36) However there is the

33. See op. cit. p168

34. N. Y. 1904, Vol 7 p 483

35. Oesterley op. cit p 174

36. See above p 46

possibility that a prayer of thanksgiving so similar to the prayer at the Kiddûsh may have crept in after the time of Jesus through the influence of Jewish Christians. So much for the blessing and the prayer.

Another difficulty in regarding the last supper as a Kiddûsh feast lies in the fact that there is in Ber viii.1 the recognition of an old custom in which the sanctification came before instead of after the supper (37) which clearly would be contrary to the events of the last supper as recorded by Luke and Paul if it was the use in the time of Christ. However this would not be a very weighty argument against the identification of the two and Oesterley (38) quotes Ber.v.1 to show that originally the meal came first.

One thing needs to be said before we go on with the consideration. This could not have been a sanctification of the Sabbath held at the regular time because if it were we should be up against all of the difficulties which we encountered in considering the Lord's Supper a Passover meal and some in addition, for it would place the crucifixion on a Sabbath as well as during the feast which would have been strictly against Jewish usage. However the Sabbath was not

37. Jewish Encyclopedia, N.Y.1904 Vol. 7 p. 483

38. Oesterley op. cit. p 171

the only day inaugurated by a Kiddûsh but festivals too were inaugurated by Kiddûshim each feast having its special Kiddûsh which however varied little from the Sabbath Kiddûsh. Now this Passover Kiddûsh could hardly take place on the eve of the first day of the Passover proper, because at that time the Paschal meal was being observed. It rather took place on the eve of the Preparation. That would mean that the little group consisting of Jesus and His followers if they wished to celebrate the Passover Kiddûsh would gather in the home of one of their number or of a friend on the afternoon of Nisan 13th to have the informal meal, after which on the approach of Nisan 14th the sanctification of the Passover would take place. Thus the sanctification ceremony would really comprise the Lord's Supper. Let us now appraise this theory.

In the first place it would do away with the difficulties encountered when we endeavor to make the last supper a Passover Feast while at the same time its Passover significance would be accounted for. Occurring on Nisan 14th the legal problem involved would be solved, the crucifixion would come on the Preparation as must have been the case and and yet the meal could and would probably be referred to in connection with the Passover. Also it would agree with the

Synoptic accounts which infer that there was only one cup which would not have been the case had this been a Passover meal. Furthermore it has been proved (39) that Luke 22:20 is not an original part of the text which would make the order of participation i. e. the wine and the bread in Luke's gospel agree with the order in the Kiddush. Paul (40) seems to have known of a similar order, so that there is fairly good evidence for holding to its authenticity. The fact that the regular Kiddûsh was a weekly ceremony might have some connection with the fact that the Lord's Supper at first seems to have been a weekly celebration. One of the chief objections to this theory lies in the fact that the Gospels seem to infer that even had already come when the meal began (41). However the term evening may have been used in a general way to denote late afternoon so that the argument is not conclusive. When we come right down to the fine point it seems to me that of all the theories so far advanced this fits the facts the best. It was first put forward by Spitta in his Urchristenthum (i.247) (42) who gave to this meal a strong eschatological significance (43) and claimed that it got its Passover significance when a month later the disciples

39. See Oesterley op. cit. p.163

40. 1 Cor. 10:14-22

41. Matt. 26:20; Mark 14:12.

42. See H.R.Srawley in article on the Eucharist in Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion & Ethics N.Y. 1910 p 542

43. See article by G.W.Stewart "Harnack Jülicher, & Spitta on the Lord's Supper. Expositor V, viii

came back to celebrate the Passover having been prevented at the regular time owing to the events surrounding Christ's death. Others who hold or have held this theory are Drews, Foxley, Box and Burkitt,(44) and Oesterley.

(f) That it was instituted at an ordinary meal.

In dealing with this theory we have two opposing views, one represented by Harnack the other by Jülicher.(45) Harnack sees in the Lord's Supper a simple meal at which the blessing was connected not with the bread and wine but with bread and the cup i. e. with eating and drinking for he goes on to prove from a reference to Justin that water was often used in place of wine in the earliest observance. He tends to the view that Jesus commended its institution as a memorial of Himself. Jülicher while holding that this was a simple meal; basing his argument upon the fact that we have two distinct traditions,^a Matthew-Mark which is the earlier and a Luke-Paul, ~~he~~ contends on the ground of the earlier tradition, that Jesus had no intention of instituting a ceremony. The meal was a regular meal which was to be a farewell meal and a kind of parable to his followers. The bread and wine were passed around several times until those at the table were filled. This meal as a precious memory was repeated by the

44. See Oesterley-The Jewish Background of Christian Liturgy, Oxford, 1925, footnote p 166
45. See Expositor V.viii, 43-61 article by G.W. Stewart

disciples of their own accord. Jülicher also disagrees with Harnack in that he can see no distinction in apostolic times between the Agapé (love feast) and the Lord's Supper. I must confess that I can see little New Testament evidence for the existence of love-feasts in the New Testament. The only place they are mentioned is in the book of Jude (46). That they grew out of the common meal cannot be doubted but we can hardly identify them with the meal of which Paul speaks in I Cor. 11:21. It may be that in Paul's protest in I Cor. 11 we have the beginning of that separation of the Lord's Supper proper from the meal in connection with which it was connected, which separation led to the distinction between the two. However our interest is in origin rather than development. There is much to be said in favor of the view that the Lord's Supper originated in an ordinary meal. We remember people best usually by the habitual in their lives rather than by an isolated event no matter how striking. The meals that Jesus and his followers had had together, and over which they had ~~discussed so many~~ of the wonderful subjects which Jesus was capable of opening up, could never be forgotten. The grace at meals was one of the happy memories of every Jewish household. However the grace before meals was much longer than the simple blessing^{of} Jesus recorded in the

Gospels (47) which would rather seem to indicate a Kiddush ceremony than a regular meal. Then too the Kiddush would be a habitual observance. On the other hand one thing further must be taken into account. The habitual action must have had significance enough to be welded into the minds of the apostles. Their recognition of Jesus as their glorified Lord came quickly, but it did not come in a day nor in a year. That took time. There seems little doubt that He had a special significance from the start, but that significance at the start was more the significance of a Friend, than of a Savior. Thus when they would meet together at the weekly meal whether a common meal or the Kiddush they would remember how He used to preside and He would seem to preside still though Unseen. Thus it seems to me we are forced to one of three conclusions. Either the meal itself had a special significance, or Jesus had some peculiar habit of blessing, breaking the bread and passing the wine, or else from the very start He had a place so significant in the minds of the disciples and such a clear conception of the future that he commanded something which from that moment became authoritative for His followers. I do believe that Jesus by the night previous to the crucifixion saw quite clearly what was liable to happen. I do believe that in the

last supper He referred to the bread and wine as symbolic of what was to happen and I can well believe that Jesus gave the command "This do in remembrance of me." (48) But I feel that we are reading more into the command than is warranted by the text if we interpret it to mean that the command was issued to **others** than that little group, or that Jesus intended it so. I doubt if Jesus realized at the time what He was to mean to humanity. In making this request at this meal He was making a natural request, that the little group whom He loved best (may we say?) should hold dear His memory and the memory of His teachings and He illustrated His request by drawing their attention to, and interpreting anew an act which He had often repeated before at the meal, but this time with a new significance. And after the resurrection when His real significance began to dawn upon His followers, this last act at the meal which also had a future look possibly a Messianic significance (49) came to take a greater place in their lives each time they observed it, until with some it gained a significance utterly foreign to the ideals of its Founder. And the meal; personally I feel that the meal itself was religious that it was more than an ordinary meal. On the eve of the Passover Preparation Day, in the light of the facts, I feel that they gathered there

48. Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24

49. See Mark 14:25

at a meal which was the Passover Kiddush. This would account for the later confusion with the Passover, for the one cup, for the weekly observance, for the simplicity of the blessing, and for the confusion of the records as to the order, and in my mind represents the meal which Jesus and His disciples were celebrating that night in the upper room.

Jewish Roots of the Christian Sacraments.

Chapter IV.

Conclusions.

I shall do little more in this chapter than merely to state the conclusions already arrived at. They are as follows:

(1) The word Sacrament it seems to me can have a symbolic connotation only. Apart from the inner attitude which a Sacrament symbolizes it can have no value. Accompanying a right inner or spiritual attitude they have a real value in directing mens thoughts and lives but the value is not inherent in the symbol.

(2) There is nothing in this definition of the term to prevent all of the seven Roman Catholic Sacraments to be included. I am basing therefore the authority of a Sacrament on its direct connection with Jesus. Of the Sacraments, the Lord's Supper and Baptism are most closely connected with Jesus.

(3) Christian Baptism cannot with certainty be traced to any direct command of Jesus. It therefore must gain its authority by the fact that he submitted to the baptism at

the Jordan. Thus we must look to John's baptism as the direct antecedent of Christian baptism.

(4) John's baptism originated in the various washings and purifications of Hebrew religious rites but probably came to him via Jewish proselyte baptism.

(5) The Lord's Supper can be traced to a historical supper held by Jesus and His disciples in an upper room in Jerusalem.

(6) This supper was not a Passover meal but was most probably a Passover Kiddûsh or sanctification meal.

(7) Jesus requested the disciples to remember Him as they gathered at that same meal from time to time but He issued no general command. These are the contentions I have endeavored to uphold in this thesis.

Summary of Chapter I.

A

Importance of this Study.

(a) Opens out new possibilities in the use of the Sacraments:

The Question of origins is very important. Just as the study of the origins of the Scriptures has led to a changed view among Protestants as to the nature of their authority, a view charged with a greater faith and freedom fraught with tremendous possibilities, so the study of the origins of the Sacraments will open up newer and greater possibilities in their use.

(b) Corrects False Views:

The study of Sacramental origins, by showing the human elements involved, tends to discredit and disprove magical and superstitious elements, based on fear.

B

Scope of Study.

(a) Meaning of "Sacrament"

The word "sacrament" is first applied to Baptism and the Lord's Supper by Tertullian (c. 150-220 or 230) and is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *μυστήριον*. This suggests the influence of the Mystery Cults upon the development of the Sacraments.

Summary of Chapter I (continued)

Webster's New International Dictionary defines Sacrament as "An outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace" (1) and outlines the three chief views as follows: a. The Catholic view that they are channels of grace and inherently efficacious. b. The view of many Protestants that they are seals of a covenant. c. The view that they are symbolic of something spiritual. The first view tends to a magical interpretation and has not adequate groundwork scientific or scriptural. The second has good scriptural background but makes use of outworn terminology and tends to a lower view of God than Jesus held. The third comes nearer to both the spirit of Jesus and to the facts of life.

(b) Baptism and the Lord's Supper only to be Included.

The reasons for this limitation are practical.

(1) Being a Protestant minister, these are the two I shall be called upon to administer. (2) The multiplication of Sacraments is fraught with the same dangers as the multiplication of rites and ceremonies of any kind. (3) The Lord's Supper and Baptism are most directly connected with Jesus.

The other five Sacraments of the Roman Church interpreted symbolically might be classed as Sacraments except

1. Webster's New International Dictionary, Springfield, Mass. 1930 Edition p. 1865.

Summary of Chapter I (continued)

Penance and Extreme Unction whose original connection with Jesus is too doubtful.

(c) Direct Origins Only ~~Have Been~~ Considered.

I have not attempted to trace all the lines of development that have contributed to make the Sacraments what they are today. Their connection with the New Testament observances is obvious so that it is with the origin of the latter that I have dealt.

Summary of Chapter II.

Jewish Roots of Baptism.

A

Universal Character of Purification Rites.

(a) Baptism in some form found among many people.

This constitutes a real difficulty in tracing the origin of Christian baptism. Water in ancient times was thought of as cleansing and as healing. These ideas are found in the later lustrations and purifications. Baptisms similar to Christian Baptism are found in connection with certain of the Greek Mysteries.

(b) Relation of Baptism to the Mystery Religions.

Owing to Jewish exclusiveness and legalism it is doubtful if Christian Baptism, originating as it did with John, could have been greatly influenced at the start by the Mystery Cults though once released in the Greek world Christian Baptism was greatly influenced by those cults

B.

Relation of Jesus to Baptism.

(a) The Problem of Matthew 28:19

Summary of Chapter II (continued)

The authority of Baptism does not necessarily depend upon its direct relation to Jesus though that counts as it gives it a sanction to us His followers. As to whether Jesus commanded his disciples to baptize depends for proof on the authenticity of Mark 16:16 and Matt. 28:19. The former is spurious to Mark's Gospel. The latter is apparently a part of Matthew's Gospel. The chief objection to its representing an authentic saying of Jesus lie in the presence of the Trinitarian formula, the fact that Paul baptized so few and and the fact that it is a post-resurrection saying. These arguments are not conclusive nevertheless we have too little evidence to prove that Jesus commanded baptism.

(b) The Baptism of Jesus by John.

This is the real sanction that Jesus gave to baptism. It represents His decision to enter the Father's service.

C

John's Baptism.

(a) Manner of John's Baptism.

Basing our sanction of baptism in Jesus' submission to the rite our next step ~~was~~ to examine John's baptism. The word βαπτίζειν does not help us much. It was probably a

Summary of Chapter II (continued)

baptism by immersion (See Rom. 6:4 and Didache as quoted by Gavin-The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments, London 1928 p.43) There is some evidence that John's baptism was a self-baptism made by the candidate in the presence of John.

(b) Purpose of John's Baptism.

John's baptism seems to have had a strong eschatological significance and to have been a pre-Messianic purification based on such passages as Jer. 36:8 and Ezek. 36:25-6. From Josephus' description of John's baptism (see I. Abrahams-Studies, Cambridge 1917 p 38) it would seem to have been a bodily purification accompanying an inward purification and hence a ceremonial rite. However the natural tendency to associate the two ideas would soon cause the rite to become symbolic of the moral change. Probably this association took place in the mind of John. That it did soon after is shown in such passages as Mark 1:4.

(c) Relation of John's Baptism to Jewish Proselyte Baptism.

The literature which refers to proselyte baptism is late, near the end of the first century. Proselyte baptism evidently grew out of the idea of Gentiles as contagiously

Summary of Chapter II (continued)

unclean. There is good evidence that Roman soldiers received proselyte baptism before the destruction of Jerusalem. Later we have a discussion as to whether circumcision or baptism is the essential rite of admission to Judaism. Allowing for development, proselyte baptism was probably prevalent in the time of John. Upon comparison of passages in Yeb 47 a,b and Gerim with Didache and E.C.O. we find that proselyte baptism resembles Christian baptism, but that it is contemporary Christian baptism. There is a possibility that proselyte baptism might have owed its origin to Christian baptism or that both grew out of the lustrations and purificatory rites of Judaism. The latter is true, but when we allow for such facts as development of proselyte baptism, possible early Christian self-baptism, Mishna presuppositions it is probable that John's baptism came from those lustrations via Jewish proselyte baptism.

Summary of Chapter III.

A

The Institution of the Supper

(a) Instituted by Jesus.

The institution of the Lord's Supper can be traced directly to the ceremony in the upper room. Our question is. "Upon what if anything was that ceremony based?"

(b) Probably based on a previous custom.

The only other possibility is that it was instituted by Jesus as something entirely new. There is against this view (1) Scripture evidence, which points to it as a Passover which maintains that Jesus was known after the resurrection in the breaking of bread (2) The fact that disciples would tend to remember the habitual (3) All the evidence points to the institution taking place at a meal.

B

Theories as to the Lord's Supper and the Meal out of Which it Grew.

(a) That it was a Passover Meal.

This is the view of Schaff and partly of Lambert. Basing his contention on a comparison of the Eucharist as

Summary of Chapter III (continued)

given in the Didache and the Passover he concludes that the blessing given by Jesus over the third Paschal cup. This however depends on a late comparison. Lambert tends to hold that the Lord's Supper was partly a covenant meal, a new meal instituted in a Passover atmosphere. The chief objections to the Lord's Supper as a passover meal lie in discrepancies between the Synoptic accounts; and John on the one hand, Jewish legalism on the other. John holds that the crucifixion took place on the Preparation which would place the last supper the evening before. Matthew Mark and Luke would place the last supper on the first day of the feast which would be contrary to Jewish law. John is probably correct. Wright thinks Mark has confused two feasts, an earlier Passover and the last supper.

(b) That it was an anticipated Passover.

This view was held by Chwolson who emends a possible Aramaic version of Matthew which would make it read "The day of unleavened bread drew near and the disciples drew near to Jesus" and of Power who claimed that Jesus was more correct in his reckoning than the Jews observing the Passover on the traditional date. In the light of legalism it would have been difficult to have got the lamb slaughtered a day early. Also we have no record of a lamb being eaten at this meal.

Summary of Chapter III (continued)

(c) Miscellaneous on the Passover Theory.

Some have thought that "keeping the passover" in John refers to the "Chăgîgāh which later was regarded as even more important than the Paschal meal. It was usually held on the second day of the feast. This would harmonize John and the Synoptics but we would still be confronted by legal difficulties. Also it is doubtful if the Chăgîgāh was as important so early. Sanday early advocated this view but gave it up later.

(d) That it got its distinctive element from the Mysteries.

This was the early view of Gardner but later he gave up the idea. However it can be shown that whatever influence the mystery religions had upon the Lord's Supper came later.

(e) That it was a Kiddûsh Feast.

Our sources regarding this feast are late but we have good evidence that the feast itself antedated Christ. It means sanctification and was a sanctification of the Sabbath. Beginning the afternoon before there was a pause at sunset & during which the sanctification took place. The blessings bear a resemblance to the blessings of the bread and wine in the Didache account of the Eucharist. There was a special Passover Kiddush which this would probably be. This would solve legal and other difficulties and yet keep the Passover

Summary of Chapter III (continued)

significance.^{The} Chief objection lies in the fact that apparently the last supper came later in the evening. This theory seems to fit the facts best. It has been held by Spitta, Drews, Foxley, Box, Burkitt, and Oesterley.

(f) That it was instituted at an ordinary meal.

This view was held by Harnack and Jülicher. Harnack however places emphasis not on the bread and wine but on eating and drinking and thinks that Jesus commanded its repetition. Jülicher on the other hand holds that it was an ordinary meal at which the bread and wine were passed many times. He contends that Jesus did not intend to institute a ceremony. I feel that Jesus did give the command to repeat the ceremony but that it was to His followers only. The length of the ordinary grace at meals seems to rule out its being a regular meal and I contend that a Kiddush best fits the facts.

Summary of Chapter IV.

This chapter is a statement of conclusions only.

- (1) I take "Sacrament " in the symbolic sense.
- (2) The Lord's Supper and Baptism have ^{the} most direct connection with Jesus.
- (3) Christian Baptism grew out of John's.
- (4) John's baptism came from the various Hebrew lustrations probably via proselyte baptism.
- (5) The Lord's Supper can be traced to a historical meal.
- (6) This was not a Passover meal but a Passover Kiddûsh.
- (7) Jesus' command to observe the Supper was given to the disciples only.

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Note: This Bibliography is based on actual reading only. "Not
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